

McCormack's chronicle suggests that one might have expected the great strike of 1919 to occur on the west coast rather than in Winnipeg, but he explains why it took place where it did.

A sympathetic description of the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World, the legendary "Wobblies", follows, and its history "demonstrated the ease with which men and ideas moved back and forth across the forty-ninth parallel in the years before 1914" (p. 98). The Great War injected into the western labour movement two divisive issues which it hardly needed, pacifism and anti-militarism, and the author devotes two chapters to that part of his story, showing how it was that the militants prevailed. He concludes that 1917 was the climactic year in which key leaders were forced to abandon conciliatory approaches in favour of the general strike: "the tremendous solidarity which had been developing among workers since the end of 1917," he writes in an epilogue, "caused thousands to rally in support of their Winnipeg comrades" (p. 165). He takes no side in the strike, asserting, after a calm appraisal of western radical movements over twenty years, that the fears of labour's opponents were nonetheless understandable.

This is by any standards a solid, readable book, holding much promise of fine future work from Dr. McCormack. Like any thoughtful book, it raises questions. The author's thesis leads him to concentrate on particular areas (especially the larger cities) and unions, to the neglect of others. The book is silent on the rural left-wing. So much attention is paid to British Columbia and Manitoba that Alberta and Saskatchewan, although referred to several times, receive so casual a treatment that neither province makes it to the index. The index itself is, to put it mildly, eccentric: of ten important figures mentioned in a sentence on page 157, for example, only one is cited as appearing there, while six are cited but not for page 157, and three are not mentioned at all. The author has an interesting aversion to a word commonly used to introduce quotations: his characters variously sniffed, stormed, exploded, declared and lectured, and at least six of them sneered, but few of them seem to have simply said something. And surely it is singular that when Samuel Gompers, who was not an MP, outraged left-wing leaders in 1918 by "delivering a rousing win-the-war speech to Parliament," (p. 148) his unprecedented appearance left no trace in the several indexes of the journals and debates of both Houses; the left-wing leaders, that is, were aroused by an address which, according to the parliamentary records, was never made.

These cavils aside, *Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries* can be recommended. It is the sort of book about which a reviewer hesitates to go into too much detail lest he spoil the plot for other readers.

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YVES ROBY. — *Les Québécois et les investissements américains (1918-1929)*, Québec. Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1976. Pp. 250.

One of the striking features of French Canadian historiography over the last decade is the emphasis on ideology. Fernand Dumont, Jean Hamelin *et al.* have edited two volumes of research essays on the topic, and there are volumes by Richard Jones, Susan Trofimenkoff, André Belanger, and Denis Monière, as

well as specialized studies of selected French Canadian intellectuals. There has always been a tendency to write the history of French Canada as the history of a *collectivité*, united in the common cause of *la survivance*, and this has made it easy to select individuals as spokesmen for the group. The Quiet Revolution, however, has focussed attention even more directly on the ideas of the leading intellectuals of the past. How was it that for almost a century these men had been so remote from reality, extolling French Canada's rejection of modern industrial society at a time when urbanisation and industrialisation were the most obvious developments in the province? To contemporary French Canadians, who deplore the alienation of Quebec's natural resources and their own exclusion from positions of authority within industrial enterprises, the study of ideology becomes an attempt to understand how this all happened.

The standard explanation is the "state of siege" mentality which inhibited social change or evolution. It does not matter much whether this mentality dates from the conquest or from the failure of the rebellions of 1837-38. Whatever the reasons, the intellectuals provided a rationalization — an ideology — which stressed the pre-industrial values of an agricultural society and the social harmony of *Rerum Novarum*. Mgr. Paquet, Bourassa and Groulx talked of spreading the faith rather than stoking the furnaces of industry at a time when Quebec was becoming an urban, industrial province and when French Canadians were providing the unskilled labour for alien enterprises.

These intellectuals offer a tempting target to present-day historians who now take it for granted that *la survivance* depends on the exercise of economic power and who often add to this the inevitability of the class struggle. Indeed, the temptation is so great that the French Canadian intellectuals really become scapegoats. Their ideology, which first appears as the rationalization of the value-system of the French Canadian élite, somehow later becomes a powerful social force which blinds most French Canadians to the objective reality of industrialization and becomes an explanation for *le retard du Québec*.

Yves Roby's contribution to the literature on French Canadian ideology seems at first glance to have a very narrow focus, as befits what was initially a doctoral thesis. It has a wider significance, however, because it is not restricted to the opinions of intellectuals. The two political parties and church spokesmen as well as intellectuals express opinions on American investment in Quebec and, as Roby shows, these opinions differ. The Liberals favoured industrialization and so welcomed American capital. The clergy stressed colonization and saw American investment as a helpful partner in establishing new communities. The Conservatives expressed some reservations about the long-range effects of alienating Quebec's natural resources. The nationalists saw this alienation and industrialization as a threat to French Canadian identity.

The summary does not do justice to the author's scholarly analysis. Various writers talk of *l'invasion américaine* but Roby carefully notes that the phrase may mean money, machines or movies, depending on the author. He also traces the shifts in the attitude of each group toward the vertiginous expansion of American investment towards the end of the decade. The ideology of Asselin, Bourassa and Groulx is not ignored. The author, however, has shown that there were rival ideologies which accepted and even approved of industrialization.

There are some methodological problems. The distinction between political partisans, clerics and nationalists is sometimes arbitrary. Nor do the newspaper and periodical sources provide firm evidence about the opinions of the inarticulate majority. Roby, however, does provide a counterbalance to the contemporary tendency to blame the ideologies of the past for the problems of Quebec's

present. His volume is a reminder that most French Canadian leaders in the 1920s actively encouraged foreign investment and the industrialization which this investment would bring. The ideology of the intellectuals did not determine the policies of those French Canadians who exercised political power.

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WILLIAM BEECHING, PHYLLIS CLARKE, eds. — *Yours in the Struggle: Reminiscences of Tim Buck*. Toronto: NC Press, 1977. Pp. xv, 414.

Tim Buck was General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada from 1929 until 1962, and Chairman of the party from then until his death in 1973, thus establishing a record for longevity in office unequalled by any other Communist Party leader anywhere in the world. He was a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International from 1935 until the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943. From the year he arrived in Canada (1910) until his death he was constantly involved in labour and socialist organizations. Obviously the honest and frank memoirs of such a man would be of immense value to historians.

Tim Buck, however, was not a man to provide anyone with his honest and frank memoirs. In articles, pamphlets and books published during his lifetime he systematically distorted the history of the Canadian communist movement to the greater glory of Tim Buck. Shortly after he became General Secretary the CPC began calling itself "Tim Buck's Party" — and Buck himself did everything possible to promote this Canadian version of the "cult of personality."

This book, compiled from tape recorded interviews made by the CBC in 1965, continues the process. Although the editors describe it as an autobiography, it is a remarkably incomplete account of Buck's life. Many critical events are omitted entirely; others are quite thoroughly falsified.

Buck's account of his own rise to the office of General Secretary in 1929 is characteristic. In *Reminiscences* he retells the story, familiar to readers of his *Thirty Years* (Progress Books, 1952) and other books, of his fight against the "Trotskyist" Maurice Spector (Party Chairman until 1928) and the "Lovestonite" Jack MacDonald (General Secretary until 1929). Unfortunately, as William Rodney has demonstrated in *Soldiers of the International* (University of Toronto Press, 1968), Buck's version is false in almost every detail: it is "a revision of history in the best traditions of Stalinism" (p. 156).

One could cite many more examples. Particularly glaring is the absence of any discussion of the crisis of Canadian Communism in 1957, during which the Party lost most of its membership and the Political Committee voted to remove Buck from office. Missing as well is any serious account of the Communist International: for example, there is no mention of the Comintern "commission" sent to Canada in 1930 to investigate charges made against Buck by the Party's large Finnish and Ukrainian auxiliary organizations.

Some of the falsifications are simply petty. In his major work on the history of the CPC, *Thirty Years*, Buck wrote that the 1929 Convention of the CPC elected only three of Buck's supporters to the Central Committee: "namely, Buck, Smith, and Bruce." (p. 66). This in itself is incorrect, since eight members of the Buck faction were elected, but see what becomes of the story in *Reminiscences*: "they elected a Central Committee with just Tom McEwen, Malcolm Bruce and me from